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ABSTRACT

This study investigated several questions concerning the amount of viewing and types of programs children and parents watch alone and together. Patterns of children's viewing with and without parents were examined, as well as how parent-child coviewing affects individual family members' viewing. Children 3 to 5 and 5 to 7 years old, and their families, were studied over a two-year period. Each family kept a diary of television viewing. It was found that: (1) parents and children coviewed adult programs three times more than children's programs; (2) the majority of children's viewing of adult programs was with parents; (3) coviewing with parents decreased with age; and (4) parents' viewing choices were the major predictor of what parents and children watched together. A 50-item reference list and statistical tables are included. (PCB)

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Television and Families:

What Do Young Children Watch With Their Parents?

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Considerable disagreement exists about the value of families' watching television together. Proponents advocate coviewing as a renewal of occasions for sharing, hailing it as the restoration of the "family hearth." They claim that coviewing provides opportunities for parents to teach critical viewing skills, enhance learning, reinforce positive messages, and moderate negative effects of violence or advertising. Critics argue that television blocks communication among family members: attention focused on the screen cannot be given adequately to another person. They insist coviewing damages family unity because it creates the illusion that families are spending time together. In fact, coviewing amounts to individual consumption of television in the presence of another, but without meaningful interaction.

Nevertheless, studies report that nearly half (McDonald, 1986) to two-thirds (Carpenter, Huston, & Spera, in press) of children's viewing is done with parents. Parental viewing patterns, both amount viewed and reasons for viewing, predict children's viewing patterns (Brown & Linne, 1976; McLeod, Fitzpatrick, Glynn, & Fallis, 1982; Timmer, Eccles, & O'Brien, 1985). Moreover, the most recent Nielsen audience research data on coviewing collected in 1975 indicated that most parent-child coviewing occurs during prime time rather than during hours when programs designed for children are shown.

Several issues raise further questions about the controversy over coviewing. First, does the coviewing experience differ for children depending on the type of program viewed? Most studies report the time of day when coviewing occurs rather than the types of programs viewed. Before this question can be answered, researchers must learn what types of programs parents and children watch together. Second, how do the effects of coviewing differ for younger and older children? Research has been conducted with children from preschool to high school age. However, most studies have focused on older children, and few, if any, have examined age differences. In order to address this question, researchers must know how much television children of different ages watch with their parents, and how the frequency of coviewing changes over time. Finally, how are coviewers' television viewing patterns related to the viewing patterns of individual family members? This question requires comparing the amounts and types of programs coviewed with the patterns of individual viewers over time.

The longitudinal study reported in this paper represents an initial attempt to address some of these issues. The theoretical and experimental literature on coviewing is reviewed in three major sections: influences of parent-child coviewing on children's present and future television viewing patterns; influences on family interaction; and parents' roles as moderators of both positive and negative effects of television.

Influences on Children's Television Viewing

Parents could influence children's television viewing patterns either by modeling preferences for certain types of programs, or by actually controlling what children view. The latter may occur because parents decide what the family will watch together, or because parents

regulate what or how much television children watch.

Modeling Program Preferences

Early researchers proposed that young children develop program preferences based on observations of older family members (Himmelweit, Oppenheim, & Vince, 1958; Schramm, Lyle, & Parker, 1961). McLeod and Brown (1976) challenged this hypothesis, insisting it was too simplistic and failed to consider socioeconomic correlates of viewing patterns. They and their colleagues have posited that more specific family characteristics such as communication styles (Chaffee, McLeod, & Atkin, 1971; Chaffee, McLeod, & Wackman, 1973) and attitudes toward the use of television (Brown & Linne, 1976; Timmer, Eccles, & O'Brien, 1985) account for the development of children's viewing patterns. Others argue for an "independence model" in which children's viewing patterns are the outcome of several conditions, particularly television availability and the child's motivation for viewing (Banks & Gupta, 1980).

Control Over Programs Viewed

Decisions about viewing. Modeling is not the only way parents might influence children's viewing. Older, more powerful members of the household can control the television set, giving coviewers little choice over what programs will be watched (Gunter and Svennevig, 1987). Evidence to support this notion is mixed. Parents, usually fathers, typically decide what will be watched when the family views together. Bower (1973) found that program selection was governed by males more than females, older children more than younger children, and fathers more than mothers and children together. However, his data also reveal that parents defer to the preferences of their children in many instances. In Lull's (1978) original study about who controls the television set, fathers, mothers, and older children (13 to 18 years) were more likely to have their program preferences selected than were younger children in the family. Subsequent observations and interviews with 93 of these families indicated that perceptions of who controls the set did not match actual behaviors of turning the set on and off or changing the channel. Fathers reported that mothers made most of the decisions about what was viewed; however, they were twice (36% of total coviewing time) as likely as mothers (15%) to control what was viewed by changing the channel or turning the set on or off. Moreover, in more than 90% of these decisions they acted alone. Children were the next most likely to make viewing decisions (30% of total coviewing time). Some older studies have found that children are more likely than parents to have their preferred programs watched by the family (Blood, 1961; Niven, 1960). By contrast, Smith (1961) reported that mothers selected just under half of the programs viewed by the family during the evening, whereas fathers selected one in four programs, and children selected only one in ten.

Parent regulation of television. Parents may also control children's viewing by establishing rules. The evidence in this area is fairly consistent. Parents express more concern about what programs their children view than about the total amount of time spent

viewing (Bower, 1973; Hess & Goldman, 1962; Holman & Braithwaite, 1982; Lyle & Hoffman, 1972; Stein & Friedrich, 1972). However, direct parental control of program selection - such as switching the channel to avoid programs with violent or sexual content - does not occur often (Bower, 1973; Mohr, 1979; Streicher & Bonney, 1974), and the number of viewing rules decreases considerably by mid-adolescence (Chaffee, McLeod, & Atkin, 1970). Thus, regulation of viewing by parents does not appear to be a major determinant of programs viewed by children.

Family Interaction

Television's effects on the quality of time children and parents spend together have been hotly debated since the medium was first introduced. Opinions range from condemnation of television as blocking communication among family members (Bronfenbrenner, 1973; Maccoby, 1951; Steiner, 1963), to support for television as a stimulus for family interaction through conversation (Brown & Linne, 1976; Lyle & Hoffman, 1972), games (Williams, Smart, & Epstein, 1979) and opportunities for learning (Messaris & Sarett, 1981).

Indeed, studies about the effects of television on family interaction have been equivocal. Early research reported very little conversation among family members during viewing (Himmelweit, et al., 1958; Maccoby, 1951). Given the novelty of the medium, these findings are not surprising. As television entered more households and became a common leisure activity, families may have adopted a more casual viewing atmosphere. In one study, half of the families said that television reduced conversation, whereas 33% said it had no effect (Walters & Stone, 1971). Based on interviews with families, Lyle and Hoffman (1972) reported that coviewing was characterized by interactions among viewers rather than simply watching the screen. Filmed observations of family viewing in the home using video equipment have also found that talking was the most frequent activity during viewing (Bechtel, Achelpohl, & Akers, 1972).

More recent studies have focused on family interactions besides conversation. When preschoolers were observed with their parents in a laboratory setting, they touched each other more often during television viewing than during a "family playtime" session when the television was off (Brody, Stoneman, & Sanders, 1981). A study of Swedish adolescents reported that television is considered a popular activity to share with parents (Johnsson-Smaragdi, 1983). This was especially true for younger adolescents (age 11) because freedom to stay out in the evening with friends was not yet allowed. For these children, television seemed to be a stimulus for family interaction: there was a positive relationship between the amount of television they watched and the number of activities they shared with parents. The reverse relationship was not true, indicating that family interaction was not a stimulus for television viewing. For older adolescents (age 15), coviewing created an opportunity to be with parents, and this was more important to them than the actual program viewed.

Parents as Moderators of Television's Effects

As responsive coviewers, parents can be powerful moderators of television's positive and negative effects on children. Their extensive world knowledge allows them to reinforce certain values, challenge others, enhance learning, and influence children's ideas about other people. Greater experience with television makes it possible for them to help children understand the medium and the role of advertising. Of course, parents' potential as moderators is limited by their awareness of this role and their willingness to take advantage of these opportunities.

Values

Parents' attitudes toward television and discussion of programs can moderate the effects of television content either directly or indirectly. Brown and Linne (1976) compared frequent and infrequent viewers of a popular Western program which contained "justified" violence, for their typical activities after viewing the program, and their choice of solutions to a hypothetical conflict situation. Nearly all of the frequent viewers who chose aggressive solutions to the conflict situation went to bed directly after viewing the program in the evening. By contrast, none of the infrequent viewers, nor the frequent viewers who chose non-aggressive solutions to the conflict situation went to bed directly after viewing. Instead, they usually played or talked about the program. The authors suggest that this activity, which was under the control of parents, moderated the negative effects of violence viewing.

Messaris and Sarett (1981) have proposed a theoretical model describing the potential consequences of parent-child coviewing. They are in the process of collecting direct observations of coviewing interactions; at present, their model is derived from data obtained through interviews with parents. They suggest that coviewing creates opportunities for parents to reinforce or introduce moral standards. During or immediately following viewing, parents can refer to something a character has done that was particularly good or bad (eg. "Wasn't it nice that Tom shared with Dan?"). Parents can also influence children's overt behavior when they make connections between the child's behavior and the behavior of a television character.

Advertising

Parents could be particularly valuable in moderating the effects of advertising (Robertson, 1979). Observations of nine families indicated that 5 to 11 year-old children understood commercials better after coviewing them with their parents than they had after viewing them alone, and that they used cognitive skills beyond their current developmental level (Reid & Frazer, 1978,1979). It is not clear whether the commercials used in this study were intended for children or adults. Clearly, it would be instructive for researchers in this area to focus on parents' abilities to moderate the effects of advertising directed toward children since they are most vulnerable to these types of commercials. This would require studying parent-child coviewing during children's programming.

Comprehension of Television

Parents can help children interpret the conventional devices used in television narratives, including formal features (eg. zooms, pans, parallel editing, flashbacks), and fantasy-reality discriminations (eg. animation vs. live action, stunts). There is evidence that children must learn that scenes in a sequence are parts of a whole story, not simply unrelated bits (Collins, 1975, 1979; Messaris & Gross, 1977; Noble, 1975). Experimental studies show that comments by an adult coviewer can lead to improved comprehension of central program themes (Watkins, Calvert, Huston-Stein, & Wright, 1980) and to improved inferences about implied events (Collins, 1970). Messaris and Sarett (1981) posit that such learning probably occurs during or just after coviewing, and may be accomplished through parents' explicit teaching, or indirectly through corrections to the child's interpretation of the narrative. During interviews, superhero stunts were often cited by parents as the first evidence children used to question to absolute reality of television portrayls. One mother reported that her children imitated their father's skepticism toward the medium. The authors propose that learning to evaluate television reality may develop from the "cumulative pattern of parental comments on particular types of programming or on television in general" (p. 369). Indeed, the family's use of the medium may set a "tone" within the family, promoting general attitudes about the credibility of television or specific types of programming.

Acquisition and Elaboration of Schemas

Parents may provide information to children while coviewing, such as historical background, character background, definitions of words, or explanations about why something happened. In essence, parents translate the concrete events of television into schemas the child can understand (Messaris and Sarett, 1981). Parents can also help children create new schemas by comparing a television character with a person they know in real life. The authors cite an example of a child who has acquired a schema (from her mother) for her father when he makes categorical statements about foreigners: at these times, he is "being" Archie Bunker. Thus, during coviewing parents may help children clarify or elaborate familiar schemas, or create new ones.

Enhancement of Learning

As coviewers, parents can reinforce lessons presented during educational shows designed for children. Through actions such as repeating specific phrases, asking questions, calling attention to central information, and encouraging children to participate at home, they enhance children's learning from such programs. At least two studies demonstrated that children who watched Sesame Street with one or both parents learned more than those who watched it alone (Lesser, 1974; Salomon, 1977). In a pair of studies designed to compare "live" and televised instruction for teaching number conservation to preschoolers (Butt, 1979; Raeissi & Wright, 1983), a responsive adult coviewer was found to be essential for training to generalize from the televised instructional mode to real objects. The adult coviewer was

included in the second study (Raeissi & Wright, 1983) in order to simulate the home viewing experience as closely as possible.

Purpose of the Study

The present study investigated several questions concerning the amount of viewing and types of programs children and parents watched alone and together. The first purpose was to describe the patterns of children's viewing with, and without parents. To this end, two questions were asked:

1. What did children watch with their parents?
2. How did younger (3 to 5 years) and older (5 to 7 years) children differ in their viewing with parents, and how did this pattern change over the course of two years?

The second purpose was to examine how parent-child coviewing affects individual family members' viewing. That is, how does choice of program during coviewing relate to the choices of programs individuals watch when they are not coviewing? Specifically, the question was:

3. What are the relationships among family members' television viewing patterns?

Three features of this study make its contribution to the coviewing literature unique: 1) viewing for all family members was categorized by program type; 2) two cohorts of young children were studied (3 to 5 years and 5 to 7 years) permitting age comparisons; and 3) families were followed for two years in order to study changes in coviewing patterns over time.

Method

Sample and Subject Retention

The initial sample consisted of 326 children and their families in Topeka, Kansas. The children were within 3 months of their third (N=160) or fifth (N=166) birthdays at the beginning of the study. They were recruited through newspaper birth records, preschools, churches, mass media publicity, and posters placed in large office buildings, laundromats, and grocery stores. The sample was predominantly Caucasian, and all but 18 families had both parents living in the home at the beginning of the study. Educational level of each parent was coded on a scale in which 1=less than high school, 2=high school graduate, 3=some post-high school training, 4=Bachelor's degree, 5=some post-graduate training, and 6=graduate or professional degree. For fathers, mean = 3.78, s.d. = 1.40; for mothers, mean = 3.35, s.d. = 1.23. Most parents were high school graduates (96.6% of the fathers; 98.1% of the mothers). Slightly over half (53%) of the fathers and 41.1% of the mothers had completed Bachelor's degrees.

Occupational status was rated on the Duncan scale, which has a range from 1 - 99 (Duncan, 1961). Although individual occupations receive different ratings on the Duncan, they can be understood from the following average ratings: professional and technical workers = 75; managers, officials and proprietors = 57; clerical and sales

workers = 17-18; laborers = 7. For fathers, the mean = 52.73, s.d. = 23.90; for mothers, mean = 52.18, s.d. = 18.52. Using 1980 census data, approximate mean Duncan scores were calculated for adults in Topeka. They were 40.5 for men and 50.6 for women. The sample represented a wide range of educational and occupational levels, but it was a volunteer sample in which white, intact, relatively stable families with husbands above the average occupational status were overrepresented. (One necessary criterion for inclusion in the study was the intention to stay in Topeka for at least two years.)

Design

The design was a combination of cross-sequential and cohort sequential methods (Nesselroade & Baltes, 1979). It is illustrated in Table 1. Two cohorts, aged 3 and 5 at the beginning of the study, were followed for a two-year period. Within each of these groups, there were two "sub-cohorts": children with birthdays from February through August began in the spring of 1981; children with birthdays from September through the following February began in the fall of 1981. For clarity, these subcohorts are referred to as Spring and Fall start times.

Viewing was measured from diaries maintained by the parents for one week in the spring and one week in the fall for two years (a total of 5 diaries). Viewing by all members of the household was recorded in 15-minute intervals from 6:00 a.m. to 2:00 a.m. for each day. In addition, if children were in regular day care, their viewing was recorded by the caregiver. Spring and fall were sampled to avoid the extremes of heavy viewing in winter or light viewing in summer. Although each family kept a diary for only one week, each time of measurement lasted approximately three weeks with families spread across them in order to reduce the effects of weather and idiosyncratic events (such as the Sadat assassination) on the viewing measure.

Parents were instructed to record as a "viewer" anyone who was present for more than half of a 15-minute interval in which the television was turned on. This definition was adopted to avoid parental judgments about when the child was "watching", but it undoubtedly resulted in a slight overestimate of true viewing. One recent investigation included a comparison of diary measures with videotapes made in the home during viewing (Anderson, Field, Collins, Lorch & Nathan, 1985). Diaries slightly overestimated children's viewing time, but the correlations between the two methods were .84, indicating that diaries are a valid method of assessing individual differences.

In the present study, validity was also assessed indirectly by examining errors in the diaries (e.g. wrong program title for time and channel listed). Two subjects were eliminated because their diaries contained large numbers of errors.

A total of 271 subjects returned four (N=27) or five (N=244) diaries and were, therefore, considered to have sufficient data for analyses of viewing. The retained sample was comparable to the

original sample on demographic variables, family composition, and television viewing environments. The only significant correlate was the child's score on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, $r(324) = 0.16$. Children whose parents returned more diaries have slightly better vocabularies than the low return rate children.

Classification of Television Programs and Viewers

An extensive coding system was developed for categorizing available television programs (CRITC, 1983). Programs were classified on four dimensions: 1) intended audience (child or adult); 2) informative purpose (yes or no); 3) animation used (full, partial, none); 4) program type (real world events and information; variety; comedy; drama; or action adventure). All programs in the TV Guide and cable guides for viewing weeks were coded on the basis of raters' knowledge of the series and descriptions in the TV Guides. Of the 5007 titles in the list, the proportion that could be coded on each dimension was: audience = 95.7%; purpose = 95.9%; animation = 95.1%; program type = 90.2%. Any programs viewed that did not appear in the TV Guides (eg., videotaped movies) were also coded whenever possible.

Viewing frequencies were calculated as the number of 15-minute intervals the child and/or parents viewed for any program category defined by a single dimension or a combination of dimensions. For the purpose of this study programs were classified as 1) child informative (eg., Sesame Street); 2) child entertainment, such as cartoons; 3) adult informative (news and sports); and 4) adult entertainment (comedy, drama, action adventure, and variety-game).

Viewing patterns among family members were also classified along several dimensions. Children's viewing with parents was classified as follows: 1) viewing with mother; 2) viewing with father; 3) viewing with both parents; and 4) viewing with neither parent. Parents' viewing without children was classified in a similar manner: 1) mother viewing alone; 2) father viewing alone; and 3) parents viewing together. In this classification, siblings or others might or might not be present in any cell.

Results

Several questions were explored concerning the amount and type of programs children coviewed with their parents, developmental changes in coviewing, and the relationship among family members' television viewing patterns.

Percentages of Coviewing

What did children view with their parents? When children watched adult programs (informative or entertainment), they were with at least one parent 67% to 81% of the time. Only 22% to 25% of their viewing of child programs occurred with a parent. The average percentages of children's viewing with or without parents are shown in Table 2.

Frequency of Coviewing

Viewing frequencies were calculated for eight program categories selected on the basis of intended audience and program type. The eight categories included two types of programs intended for child audiences: 1) informative; 2) entertainment; and six intended for adult audiences: 3) news and informational; 4) sports; 5) comedy; 6) drama; 7) action adventure; and 8) variety-game.

Distributions of viewing in most categories were positively skewed; therefore, square root transformations were used in the final analyses after determining that they produced more normal distributions than logs or raw scores. For the 27 families with one missing diary, values were estimated using the BMD least squares program for estimating missing data. The estimation was based on the child's gender, cohort, start time, and other diary frequencies. Approximately 2% (27 out of 1355) of the values in the final data set consisted of such estimated data.

Analyses of variance were performed on viewing frequencies in each program category using child's sex (2), cohort (2), start time (2), wave (5), and absence/presence of parent coviewer (2) as independent variables. Main effects and interactions by cohort and coviewer indicate that older and younger children differ in the amount of viewing they do with parents, while effects involving coviewer and wave indicate changes in coviewing over time. The results of these analyses are displayed in Table 3. Only those effects involving coviewer are reported in this paper. Other effects have been reported in Huston et al. (1987).

Coviewing of child and adult programs. There were significant main effects for coviewer in all eight program categories. Mean differences in coviewing the eight program categories are displayed in Figure 1. Children in both cohorts watched more child programs without parents than with parents; they viewed more adult programs with parents than without parents.

Age differences in coviewing. How did younger and older children differ in their viewing with parents? Cohort by coviewer interactions revealed that significant age-related changes occurred in all categories of television programs: younger children coviewed all program categories more with one or both parents than older children; older children viewed more entertainment programs (child or adult) without parents.

For children's programming, interactions between chort, coviewer, and wave indicated different patterns of change with age for coviewing and viewing without parents. Coviewing children's informative programs declined steadily from age 3 to age 7. By contrast, children watched child informative programs without parents with increasing frequency from age 3 to 4, then frequencies began to decline. Coviewing children's entertainment programs also declined slightly over the age period studied. The frequency of viewing children's entertainment programs without parents increased rapidly from age 3 to 5, then leveled off.

For adult audience programs, age changes in coviewing with parents occurred for adult informative, drama, and action-adventure programs. Children's coviewing of adult informative programs with parents declined after the age of 4, whereas their coviewing of drama with parents declined after the age of 6. Conversely, children in both cohorts increased their coviewing of action-adventure programs with parents over time. Figure 1 displays these age-related changes in coviewing.

Relationships Among Family Members' Television Viewing Patterns

The next major set of questions concerned the direction of influence in parent-child coviewing. Did parents join children in order to share programs suited to the child's tastes and preferences? Or did parents choose programs suited to their own tastes, allowing the child to join them? Given the essentially correlational nature of the data, direction of effects cannot be determined with certainty. However, examining the relation between the types of programs that children or parents watch "alone" and the types of programs they watch together provides one source of relevant information. For example, if the amount of comedy viewed by a parent when the child is not present predicts the amount viewed together, one might conclude that the parent's tastes are guiding the selection of programs for coviewing, especially if the child's viewing without parents does not predict what they coview.

Correlations were computed between the frequency of coviewing and the frequency of viewing by (1) mother and father without child, (2) mother without child, (3) father without child, (4) child without parents for each of the five waves. These correlations appear in Table 4. The amount of adult programming that parents watched together without children was positively related to the amount viewed with children; this pattern increased in strength over time (r = .38 to .49). By contrast, the amount of adult programming that children watched without parents was not significantly related to the amount coviewed with parents (r = -.003 to .03).

This same pattern in which coviewing tracked parental rather than child's individual viewing tastes held for the relationship between fathers and children: father-child coviewing resembled father "alone" viewing more than it resembled child "alone" viewing. Similarly, the differential tracking pattern was present but weaker in the coviewing of child with mother. The amount of adult programming that children viewed "alone" was weakly, but significantly related to the amount of programming coviewed with mother (r = .10 to .24). While coviewing between mother and child resembled both mother's and child's "alone" viewing of adult programs, the greater similarity was to the mother's choices. Perhaps mothers take children's tastes into account in coviewing more than fathers do.

Where parents do accommodate is in the coviewing of children's programs. In fact, the only time either parent viewed children's programs was with children. Thus, the above influence comparisons could not be made regarding children's programs.

Discussion

Parents and children coviewed adult programs three times more than they coviewed child programs. This difference suggests that parents miss opportunities to enhance the educational benefits of programs intended for children.

Conversely, the majority of children's viewing of adult programs is with parents. Therefore, the concern that young children watch too much adult programming unsupervised is not warranted. However, coviewing with parents decreases with age, indicating that viewing of adult programs becomes increasingly independent of parents. The opportunity for parental taste to affect children's independent habits thus also declines with ages.

The amount of adult programming that is watched by parents is related to the amount coviewed with children, while children's viewing of adult programming is only weakly related to the amount coviewed with parents. Therefore, children appear to be drawn into viewing adult programs by their parents and appear to accommodate to parents' choices of adult programs. No reciprocal accommodation by parents to children's choices occurs when both parents coview with the child. Fathers' coviewing shows almost no resemblance to child's own choices, while mothers' coviewing with children shows a bit more accommodation to children's choices. But the parents own viewing choices still appear as the major predictor of what parents and children watch together.

In sum, children accommodate to parents' tastes in their coviewing of adult programs, while gradually developing their own. The reverse occurs with respect to children's programs. That is, parents accommodate to the child's preferences, but coviewing of children's programs, like the child's independent viewing of such shows, declines with age.

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Table 1. Design of Longitudinal Study

Cohort & Start Time	Time of Measurement: 1981 Spring	1981 Fall	1982 Spring	1982 Fall	1983 Spring	1983 Fall
	Age of Children					
1978, Spring	3	3 1/2	4	4 1/2	5	
1978, Fall		3	3 1/2	4	4 1/2	5
1976, Spring	5	5 1/2[a]	6	6 1/2[b]	7	
1976, Fall		5	5 1/2	6[a]	6 1/2	7[b]

a. Entered kindergarten

b. Entered first grade

Table 2. Average Percentages of Children's Viewing of Televsion Programs With and Without Parents

	Program Types			
	Child Informative	Child Entertainment	Adult Informative	Adult Entertainment
Coviewer:				
Without Parent(s)	77.8%	74.7%	18.8%	32.9%
With Parent(s)	22.2%	25.3%	81.2%	67.1%
Both Parents	2.6%	6.1%	31.2%	24.8%
Mother	15.7%	12.3%	26.9%	28.7%
Father	3.9%	6.9%	23.1%	13.6%

Table 3. Analyses of Variance of Eight Program Categories: F-Ratios

	Effect			
Dependent Variable	Coviewer	Cohort x Coviewer	Coviewer x Wave	Cohort x Coviewer x Wave
Child Audience				
Informative	234.96***		2.68*	8.84***
Entertainment	269.07***	11.78***	12.48***	3.08*
Adult Audience				
Informational	210.85***	9.21*	4.88*	
Sports	130.52***	4.99*		
Comedy	61.75***	20.56***		
Drama	213.77***	6.03*	6.73***	
Action-Adventure	130.63***	7.72*	5.52***	
Variety-Game	145.50***	3.83*		
DF	(1,263)	(1,263)	(4,260)	(4,260)

*p<.05 ***p<.001

Table 4. Correlations Between Frequency of Coviewing and Viewing Adult Programs "Alone"** by Child and Parents

	WAVE				
	1	2	3	4	5
Viewer(s)	Coviewers				
	Child with Mother and Father				
Child Alone	.03	-.02	-.003	-.02	.03
Mother & Father Alone	.38***	.42***	.47***	.48***	.49***
	Child with Mother				
Child Alone	.22***	.13**	.10*	.16**	.24***
Mother Alone	.40***	.43***	.47***	.42***	.37***
	Child with Father				
Child Alone	.07	.11*	.10*	.11*	.13*
Father Alone	.40***	.42***	.46***	.46***	.29***

* p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.001

** "Alone" means without parents or without child; siblings or others may be present in the viewing environment.

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Mean viewing frequencies of child viewing without parents and child coviewing with parents at each age level for the eight program categories.

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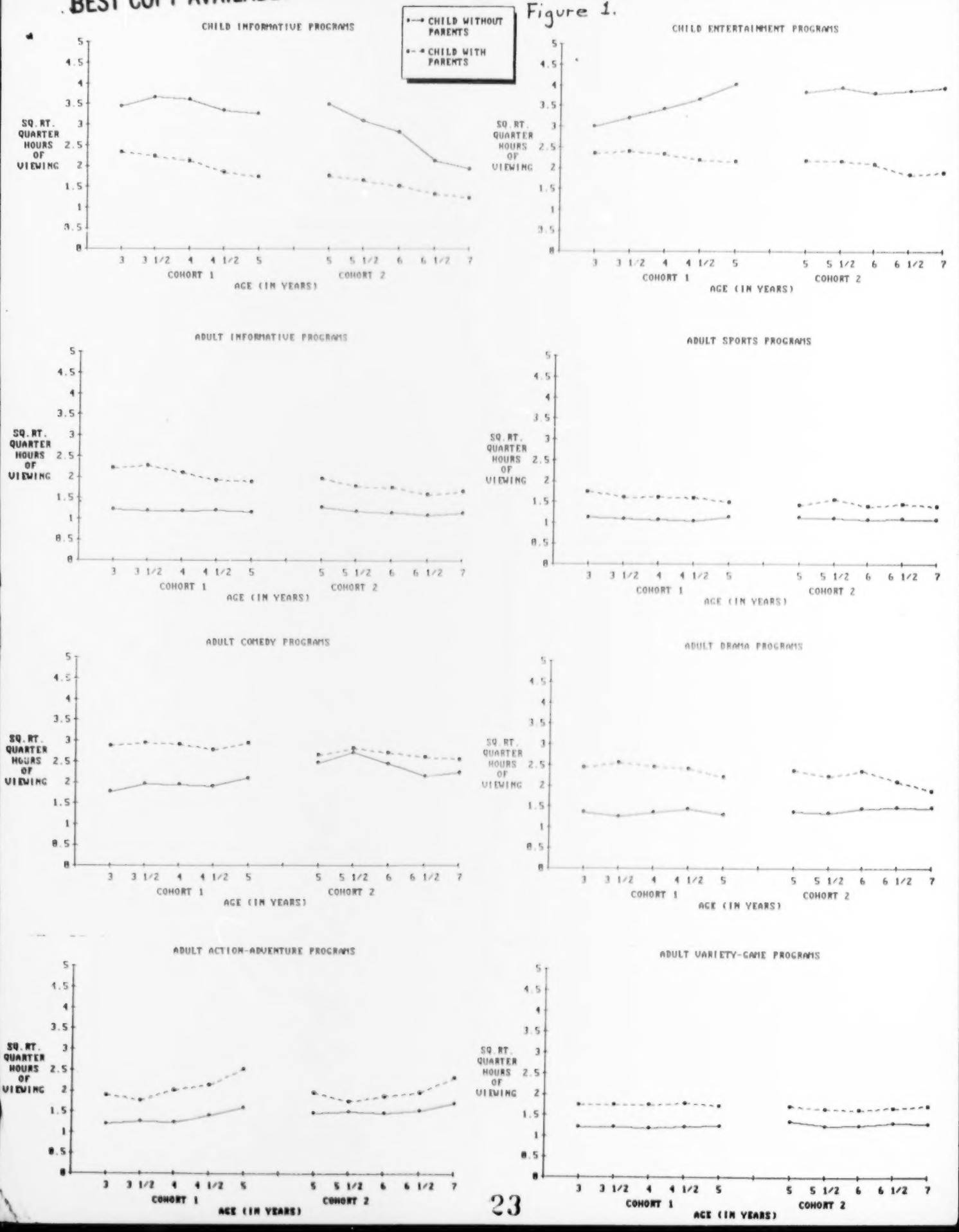
Figure 1.


CHILD WITHOUT PARENTS
CHILD WITH PARENTS
CHILD INFORMATIVE PROGRAMS
CHILD ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMS
ADULT INFORMATIVE PROGRAMS
ADULT SPORTS PROGRAMS
ADULT COMEDY PROGRAMS
ADULT DRAMA PROGRAMS
ADULT ACTION-ADVENTURE PROGRAMS
ADULT VARIETY-GAME PROGRAMS
SQ. RT. QUARTER HOURS OF VIEWING
5 4.5 4 3.5 3 2.5 2 1.5 1 .5 0
3 3 1/2 4 4 1/2 5 5 5 1/2 6 6 1/2 7
COHORT 1
COHORT 2
AGE (IN YEARS)